Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days.

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special ceremonies is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above).

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can keep his hunting life and rank as a true Masi if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

Prior to the meat (*O-Ny'oker*) the men must eat meat in the forest or bush. They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitukuwa* or *Il Kiburoti* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitukuwa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiburoti*.

When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf of their age-group. Each one takes his shower and rubs it in the ashes of the fire in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the side of it and walks towards the East emitting his prayer and striking trees with the shower. While returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipukuna* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the shower into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are usually always a bundle of showers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai nakiteuwa nishukua ilmeshokijo enkila nishukutua kiuwa kwaare il ngarai ol loghoonga. Na ipa Eng Ai nakiteuwa injishi ipuk injisho nanny'ang'anyi. Kua ipa Eng Ai nanisjo Na Ai tukeyishi ipuk ol pusu nua ol kilo. Nua ipa Eng Ai nanisjo injishi ipuk nanuar il ngarai il loghong nishukua il enengipuk nainguna kulilua enengipuk nanuar il ngarai il loghong. Aateuwa Na Ai wuwa ai engolong nanisjo i'il enishoke tangwa ipuk il till enengipuk.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbuttoned. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my kind. And Thou O God I have prayed give us the cattle which pasture steadily. And Thou O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the II Kituiy is "*Tungunaki ipuk i'alonu inuwa nakuwa inikwata e nanisi nemeki ol nuwan le angai shiki.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

/32 cont./

When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e mudi, 'mudie) are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In contrast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by healthy people uncooked, as fresh (ol gala) or sour (ol gala naata); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoo (Masai invention). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted state. Milk mixed with fresh or /32/ cooked blood (ol gwdo) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (ol kapiyiet). Fat, rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially sweet broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt: it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in one day cooked meat and milk /32. 33 appearance/ together

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd book of Moses 23, 19-34, 34, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol ngiloriyo spice (herb of

/34 cont./

262 272 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai store any kind of game meat, as well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the dwarfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

[134]

• 252 262 263 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following: batatas (ol murúgo, el murúgoni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked in water with a little soppe salt (e murúju), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gíberu, el gíberu), and mixed with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el murúgoni. Unripe bananas (ol marígi, el marígo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (el gúrui) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kíkiu, el kíkiu) are cooked in water, drained, and then mixed with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol bóngi, el bóngi) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bunúi -- el bunúi (Dolichos lablab), ol gíi --el gíin (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore ol ngarúi -- el ngarúi (Phaseolus vulgaris), el gémuni -- el gémuni (Phaseolus radiatus). Zeamais cerealea (el dáha -- 'n dáha, or el drígi -- 'n drígi or also called el guruma -- 'n guruma) and Sorghum vulgare (el bárif -- el bárifi) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Pennisetum glaucum (el gerí -- el gerín) and Eleusine coracana (which the Masai on Kilimanjaro designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word mafuma) are cooked in salted water.

276 [939] Honey (en sícha -- 'n sícha) is eaten unsalted and is also used as an addition to various confectionaries. They buy tobacco (el guntúi, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in question, from mdemary Negroes, who get it on the market in Taveta, both wrapped in packets (Fig. 6) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter. For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 6

[415] →

[83 cont./
words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
rear their sons to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards
as ahkoye a coward, or shkhal a the bad one. After the circumcision
all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just
circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs
(Juniperus procera). The festival is called ai ogbi i ei ojok gwechu,
that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)

1. I once observed that my four Mewi boys together at an evening meal ate over 90 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which the budding warriors will augment the personal herds. Suddenly the glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces mentions their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jestingly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their impressions into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

[Warrior Kraal]

/El.com./ Under a shade tree with thick foliage a spot about 30 to 35 square meters in size is cleared and enclosed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 12) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the el ajiker companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking veg. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and herbs that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk wherever one is thirsty (el ajiker).

In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (el elelo). In the vicinity of the entire but the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One cattle kraal or hut ella ella el hol. Each el ajiker receives a longitudinal half of the slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /El/ The pickled-out fat is cooked together with this meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and herbs (especially from el gerolenge (1)).

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

el ajiker (M).

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] (5).

5. *[illegible]*

which have a strong stimulating effect. The use of the noun, rendered as an open fire, is done away by each *ri glion* in succession, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest horse meal takes place as a rule in the month *[illegible]*. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives as little milk that the various mountaineers live for a whole month on almost only meat.

At the head of the erection of a hoof stands the speaker (*ni sigeveni* or *ni sindeni*). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or dimeresse horn (6)

> 6. The straight horn of a species of *Rhinoceros* [illegible] not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1898 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or sharp wood. It is wrong like a horse in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphatical sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. When the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The *[illegible]* of the audience often give the impression of *[illegible]*, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

/Yes cont./

726 182 My sr's blessing upon the sun and their companions going off to war. The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with 726 (239) fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/IV/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten. At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of which calls the other ge nil ka, that is, my companion. /III. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten 704 701 726 such comradeships combine to make a section (oi aig), each of which erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far 726 from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the ohg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/174 cont./

231
262
561
[593] out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol kirebuacha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (eh gonjori), the entrails (mumin), feet (el ollelak), as well as the hind leg without the rear half (eh gubda), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murta). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (eh galeminia) and rear hocks (el oreachata). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (el lapit), a shoulderblade (ol kirebuacha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ol mimut), the long belly-muscle; for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (el ogik), a rear hock, the fillet (os sonet), the "flanke /flank/ Rosebeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol ong), the heart (ol dil). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mojua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en goriok) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol olgoli), lungs (el kibisk), heart, and a hind leg (eh gulo muro), while he himself keeps the rest.

[593] From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils [252] the bones for soup, furthermore the fillets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/300 cont./

824 [252] 126. si dinkinf (Pappea capensis Eckl. et Zeyh.). About seven finger-sized pieces of the bark are boiled with the meat and fat of a fatty tail (of sheep); the warriors in particular drink the broth as Tonicum roborans /strengthening wine/ and beautifying agent.

[252] 127. si dagil (Clerodendron quadriangulare L.). About ten finger-sized pieces of the vine are cooked with goat-meat broth. The broth serves as a stimulant.

128. se dinkif (Helichrysum herbiae [L.] Cass.).

129. se dobin (Leucas?hut).

130. si dingilas. Edible root.

131. si dagil (Cyperus). Fodder for small livestock.

132. si dinkif or si dinkifin or also si dinkifin (1)

1. Pterocarpus pangensis Chiov was also pointed out to me as se dinkifin.

(Rhynchosia bracteifolia Pers.). Fodder for small livestock.

133. si dasjal (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder especially prized for goats.

134. si dinkinthani (Pelargonium alata L.).

135. se dasnaki. The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is drunk as a stimulant, that of a hand-sized piece of bark for severe intestinal catarrh.

136. si dinkif (Hoslundia erythroides [Pers.] Pl.). The expressed juice is dripped into fresh arrow and spear wounds for healing purposes.

137. se dinkif (Senecio adnexidens Hochst.).

138. se dinkif (Solanum campylacanthum Hochst.). The decoction of a fist-sized piece of root is given to the malaria patient as a diaphoretic remedy. To someone wounded by a poisoned arrow one also gives as an emetic /?6?/ a mixture of the juice of the bulb and the emetic fluid of a gravid sheep.

139. se dinkif si gare (Solanum). One smears swellings on cattle with the glowing ashes of the plant to heal them.

140. si dingil (Plectranthus abyssinicus Cliff.). Edible fruit. The decoction of a handful of bark or root is used as an emetic for fever. The juice is dripped into suppurating wounds to heal them.

the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon women cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden grill above the fire. Youngish children usually accompanied the women. Gomez (1948:78) notes that in Targuetche Kecellende

> At an attack a few women (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cookedy thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed women cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a home.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grotanelli and Grotanelli (1964a) and described by Hurtzingfeld (1951:1088). The women apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the conception of the meat as brought to homes, we believe that in addition to women and children sisters and a few women will gladly

[142] eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [152] [944] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [925] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been eating their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and hartebeest.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and goats ones are killed and eaten [914] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Ole Tiololo (1968) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of meat so sharp after the men were through eating.

231 474 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by aiming a thorn about the animal's neck at the jugular vein, then shooting a particularly blunted arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.